

THE 16TH CONVENTION OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY. U. S. A.

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INTERIM REPORT

OF THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

TO THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY  
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## FOREWORD

**By Senator James O. Eastland, Chairman, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee**

The Communist Party's 16th convention held in New York City February 9-12, 1957, was originally planned as a secret meeting. The Communists used every conceivable device to hoodwink the public as to the real nature of their convention. They used a press agent to announce developments, all of which were slanted to convey an erroneous impression while, at the same time, seeking to impress the public that the Communists were conducting a convention openly and aboveboard.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee exposed the nature of the Communist convention through sworn testimony and certain documents including a statement given the committee by Director J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI which analyzed the manner in which the Communists had attempted to hoax the American public. Since then, the Communists have been seeking to overcome their disadvantage in which they were placed when they were portrayed in their true light.

The latest trick designed to place the Communists in a favorable light before the American public was launched last Monday, June 3, 1957, with the release of what the Communists call "The Proceedings (Abridged) of the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A." In a press release, the Communist Party issued a statement by Eugene Dennis, the ranking party leader, who said that "the 'proceedings' will demonstrate conclusively the open and democratic nature of the Communist Party and its convention." The proceedings have been analyzed and disclose that they had been carefully edited for the obvious purpose of concealing the truth of the Communist conspiracy and its link to the Soviet Union. In some instances where the Soviet Union has been put in an unfavorable light, the proceedings gloss over completely what actually occurred. The proceedings, for instance, fail to reflect that the Communist Party took any stand on the Soviet rape of Hungary.

Similarly, the proceedings do not give the details of the report on the Jewish question which was briefly presented to the convention by Prof. Morris U. Schappes of the resolutions subcommittee No. 6. This resolution was circulated at the convention but the proceedings on page 247 reflect that a delegate asked if the " \* \* \* resolutions on the Jewish question are also being referred to the national committee?" and was told that the material would be turned over to the national committee for study. The proceedings are silent, no doubt, on the resolution on the Jewish question—which was widely circulated at the convention—because it details the existence of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. The Internal Security Subcommittee, therefore, is printing the Schappes' resolution as an appendix to the hearing record so that it can be considered with the party's proceedings.

Admittedly, the party's proceedings omitted certain irrelevant portions of their transcript, but other items were omitted or deleted because they cast the Communist Party, U. S. A., in its true light.

Indicative of the omissions and revisions are the following items which should be considered in evaluating how much credence should be given the completeness and accuracy of the published proceedings:

Page 155, column 2, paragraph 1: The following statement is omitted:

In the case of the Labor]Youth League the party abdicated its role as vanguard of the youth and, therefore, left the youth in the league to try to do the work of the party.

Page 172, column 2, paragraph 3: The following remark by Steve Nelson, a notorious high Communist functionary, was omitted.

The other night I was reading from Foster's acceptance speech at the 1928 convention. Should I remind you what the closing words were—for a Soviet America backed up by a Red army.

Page 174, column 1, paragraph 2, line 6: After the first semicolon the following was omitted: "P. T. A., 17" (Parent Teachers Association).

Page 202, column 2, line 3: After the word differences the following phrase was omitted: "Between Sobolev and Khrushchev."

Page 204: At the end of the first paragraph the following statement was omitted:

When he called for in his opening speech, not support for socialism and support for the Soviet Union, but for solidarity with Soviet foreign policy.

At this same point the following was also omitted:

This dangerous distortion led us in the past 10 years to evaluate everything in terms of solidarity with Soviet foreign policy. You had to be on one side or the other and thus we have become an enemy of the neutral nations that became the Bandung powers. We became enemies of the Quakers, the Reutherites, the labor leaders. The NAACP became agents of war, not just people we disagreed with.

Page 204, column 1, paragraph 2, line 6: After the word country the following is omitted:

Particularly, we fought every one of Nehru's proposals for a cease-fire in Korea until much later when the Soviet Union supported it and then we switched.

Page 204, column 2, paragraph 3, line 7: After the word transition, the following was omitted:

we were oriented 100 percent to the policies of the Soviet Union whether right or wrong.

Page 205, column 1: The sentence beginning on line 3 has been reworded. The statement as made at the convention is as follows:

When the Khrushchev report on Stalin and the shocking violations of socialist democracy and legality was released by the United States State Department the exposure of our party as a Soviet adjunct and Soviet theoretical dependence became irrefutably clear. Our own uncritical attitude to the Soviet Union and socialist countries had brought us to the edge of moral and political collapse.

Page 205, column 1: At the end of the first complete paragraph the following statement is omitted from the proceedings:

Our delinquency was not in supporting socialism, not fighting for socialism in the United States but in our complete subservience to Stalin and the Soviet Politburo. The end of this subservience is the absolute precondition to our recovery and reconstitution as an American political force.

Page 238, column 1, paragraph 3: After the sentence ending on line 15 and after the word "figures" the following statement was omitted:

Those are leaders who have refused to condemn Soviet intervention in Hungary on November 4 as interpreted by the American people to mean that they would favor the Soviet Army over the American working class should history ever bring those two forces into a contest for the future of our country.

Page 249, column 1, paragraph 2: The sentence beginning on line 5 has been revised. As stated at the convention it read as follows: "Now the problem is to lead this struggle and give it some Communist orientation."

It is obvious, from the above-cited instances of the omissions of statements made at the convention and revision of statements, that the Communist Party, U. S. A., still adheres to the Soviet Union and the omissions were deliberately made in line with the current Communist Party tactics of attempting to hoodwink the American public into believing the Communist Party, U. S. A., is actually independent from Moscow.

Those who have long observed the techniques and strategies employed by Communist leaders can quickly determine that the proceedings fail to give any account of the numerous caucuses and back-scene manipulations which represent the real control of the Communist Party convention.



## **THE 16TH CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES**

During the past few years, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has perceived a persistent effort on the part of the Communists in the United States to represent themselves as insignificant, divided, independent of Moscow, and even developing peaceful and democratic tendencies. This representation reached its climax at the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the Communist Party of the United States, held in New York City from February 9 to February 12 of this year.

At this convention, which was heralded by an effective public relations effort, the Communists sought to present to the country an appearance which seemed to the subcommittee at variance with the evidence that it was accumulating in the course of its hearings. The subcommittee decided to concentrate, for a short period, on the developments of this convention and to learn, if it could, the significance thereof. Accordingly, a series of hearings were held in February and early March and the following individuals were called as witnesses: Eugene Dennis, keynote speaker at the convention, newly elected member of the national committee and, for about a decade, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States; Carl Rachlin, a New York labor attorney, member of the board of directors of the New York Civil Liberties Union, who attended the sessions of the convention as an entirely independent observer; Arnold Beichman, a writer for the Christian Science Monitor, AFL-CIO News and the New Leader, who attended press conferences held in connection with the convention; and Frank S. Meyer, now a freelance writer, who was formerly a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain and of the Communist Party of the United States, educational director of the Communist Party in Chicago and a teacher at its Jefferson School of Social Science in New York City. In addition, J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, submitted a 20-page appraisal of the convention, which the subcommittee deemed particularly important in view of the authoritative position of its author.

### **THE COMMUNISTS SOUGHT TO CREATE AN IMPRESSION**

According to Mr. Hoover, this convention had the following purposes:

First, there was the necessity of recasting the party's activities in line with the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in Moscow a year ago. Secondly, the American Communist Party used the convention as a means of developing its program to convey the public impression that it no longer was subservient to the Soviet Union and thus endeavored to thwart future prosecutions by the Department of Justice (p. 2).

According to Mr. Carl Rachlin:

\* \* \* the whole tenor of the convention was to create the appearance of separating themselves from the international Communist conspiracy, with the idea they could then defend themselves under the Smith Act and that they were not part of the Communist conspiracy and they might defend [in] other areas of government security or industrial security where the question of being part of the apparatus of Communist conspiracy [was raised] (p. 4595).

Mr. Hoover's memorandum then makes the following telling points:

The 1957 party convention was no different from previous party gatherings which brought about revisions in the constitution of the Communist Party 18 times, and the changing of the name of the party on 9 prior occasions.

A study of the convention's deliberations discloses that the Communists are still the masters of "The Big Lie." Their doubletalk, duplicity, and semantic gyrations make them the most dangerous and proficient masters of propaganda in the civilized world.

The Communist Party before and after its 1957 convention is part and parcel of the worldwide Communist conspiracy. It is still responsive to the will of Moscow; it still works for the destruction of the American way of life; and it still is dedicated to the building of a Soviet United States patterned after the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism.

The changes in the party's constitution, organization, and announced public objectives are designed to bring to an end a period of isolation from the American public caused by the disclosures of their tactics and objectives. Should it succeed in further hoodwinking certain people, as it has with some success since the convention, then it will emerge stronger than it ever was and more dangerous to the peace and security of the United States.

The convention boasted that it was "being covered by the largest battery of newspapermen in the party's history" (Hoover, p. 3). To add to the atmosphere of openness without secrecy which the party was trying to create, a number of handpicked "impartial observers" were invited to attend the convention, headed by A. J. Muste who had taken a leading part in circulating an amnesty petition for the release of Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act (Hoover, p. 3). After the convention a statement issued by Mr. Muste and some of his associates served to accentuate the appearance of respectability.

The 16th convention went to considerable pains to clear itself of the charge that Communists are "advocates of violence always and everywhere." Before the convention, the CPUSA had been the target of criticism against Soviet brutality in Hungary, and outright charges of anti-Semitism. Every effort was exerted by the party to counteract this criticism (Hoover, p. 10).

To give credence to the theory that the party had adopted a policy of encouraging freedom of opinion and discussion within its own ranks, alleged controversy between party factions led by Foster, Dennis, and



Gates was widely publicized. The columns of the preconvention issues of the party press were filled with such stories, centering about a proposed change of name to a political association and a host of other questions (Hoover, p. 11). Rumors were even planted that both Foster and Dennis were to be ousted, and that a collective leadership was to be established. An American "cult of personality" was tabooed (Hoover, pp. 12, 13).

The illusion of a "break with the past," that the oldtimers were no longer in control, was further stimulated by the fact that Charlene Alexander of Los Angeles, a Negress aged 26 and "no hardened Bolshevik," received the largest number of votes for election to the national committee of 20 (Hoover, p. 13).

The party's longtime public-relations spokesman, Simon Gerson, announced reassuringly that the party now believed war was not inevitable and that there could be a peaceful transition to socialism (Hoover, p. 13).

Having lost the confidence of socialists, members of the non-Communist left, liberals and others, by its recognition as a clandestine organization, the party, in order to reestablish its contacts, tried to convey the impression that it had discarded underground activity. Once again it hoped and sought to reenlist the support of sympathizers, fellow travelers, dupes, and especially financial "angels" for its front organizations (Hoover, p. 15).

The convention made a herculean effort to meet the unrest within the party, evidenced by the recurrent criticism of "bureaucracy" and "secret directives." Once again it sought to surround Party membership with an aura that would encourage recruiting, which had fallen down conspicuously (Hoover, p. 15).

This strategy of guile and deception had been carefully planned at a 2-day secret preconvention meeting in New York (Hoover, p. 12).

#### THE PAST REPEATED

Analyzing the results of the convention, the Hoover memorandum observes:

That the Communist Party has not changed its objectives one iota is attested to by the following highlights of its 1957 convention:

1. Despite a year of debate, the party retained its old name and traditional organization;

2. The party continued the majority of its old leadership;

3. The party reaffirmed its adherence to the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism;

4. The party reaffirmed its acceptance of "proletarian internationalism;"

5. The party refused to take a stand against the Soviet rape of Hungary;

6. The party refused to take a stand against the tyranny and anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union;

7. The party at no time passed any resolution during the convention declaring its independence of the Soviet Union, nor did it urge freedom in the satellites, nor did it support American foreign policy to the detriment of Soviet foreign

policy; and at no time did it disavow its dependence upon the Soviet Union nor its loyalty to the Soviet Union. In fact, upon its conclusion, the Soviet controlled press hailed the Communist Party, U. S. A., for remaining loyal "to the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

8. The party reaffirmed its adherence to the basic Leninist concept of democratic centralism, even more than in prior conventions, through the selection of convention delegates who were primarily functionaries, and who ended the convention agreeing that "the party won" and that there was "unity."

Those who have studied the Communist movement over an extended period of time can fairly well predict the course of action Communists will take. The science of Marxism-Leninism, as the Communists call it, is a way of life. And American Communists will follow this way of life until such time as their party completely disavows Marxism-Leninism by deed as well as by word, which they will never do until it is first uprooted in the Soviet Union. The strategy and tactics of Communists are constantly changing and shifting to meet and overcome new problems and conditions. The objectives of communism have not deviated since the Communist Manifesto was first promulgated more than 100 years ago.

Mr. Hoover also pointed out that this is not the first time the Communist Party has gone through an elaborate series of actions designed to give the impression that some major change had taken place. His memorandum states:

In November of 1940, the Communist Party, in order to circumvent and evade the Voorhis Act, enacted on October 19, 1940, which would subject the party to registration as an organization subject to foreign control, called an emergency convention. At this convention the party proclaimed that it "does hereby cancel and dissolve its organizational affiliation to the Communist International \* \* \* for the specific purpose of removing itself from the terms of the so-called Voorhis Act. \* \* \*"

The party then proclaimed that it "\* \* \* reaffirms the unshakable adherence of our party to the principles of proletarian internationalism, in the spirit of its greatest leaders and teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. \* \* \*"

For its recent convention, the party created a similarly elaborate setting. With great fanfare and every attempt to create an appearance of novelty, the convention revived its clever resolution of 1945, 1948, and 1950 calling for the expulsion of anyone who is—

engaged in espionage or who advocates force and violence or terrorism, or who adheres to or participates in the activities of any group or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy through which the majority of the American people can maintain their right to determine their destinies.

The Aesopian language employed here demands clarification. Of course no conspiracy such as the Communist Party will openly advocate es-

pionage, force, violence or terrorism. But by simply concluding that a given political institution is not one through which "the majority of the American people can maintain their right to determine their destinies," the party opens the door to justification of "the activities of any group or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken, or overthrow" such an institution.

#### WHAT HAPPENED AT THE CONVENTION

The convention permitted newspapermen to be present in an ante-room, carefully shepherded by Simon Gerson, who was in charge of press relations. One of the reporters, Arnold Beichman, has given an account of his experience. When asked by Chief Counsel Robert Morris whether he attended every session of the convention, he replied, "They wouldn't let you in" (p. 4611). According to Beichman's testimony, all he received was handouts. When reporters asked for an opportunity to interview William Z. Foster or Eugene Dennis or John W. Gates, they were dexterously brushed off (p. 4612). At one point three reporters presented a petition to interview Gates, who finally came out but would not talk. Reporters had no other contact with Communist leaders (p. 4612).

From his vantage point Mr. Rachlin also witnessed the press relations. Reporters were so eager for news that they would appeal to Mr. Rachlin for what they could obtain. Only the briefest summaries were given out by the spokesman, Gerson (p. 4594). When Mr. Rachlin asked Mr. Gerson why the press was excluded the latter said merely that if the press were present they might identify delegates who might then be seriously handicapped in their daily activities (p. 4573).

When Mr. Gerson was asked what were the "corrections" made by the U. S. S. R. in its relations with Poland, Hungary, and other socialist states as claimed in a convention resolution, the reporters were denied information (p. 4626).

Another reaction of the Communists to the free press was demonstrated in the verbal assault by Norman Schrank, executive secretary of the New York State Communist Party, upon news photographers and his action in pushing one of them physically aside (p. 14).

The Communist Party made a great show of its "independent stand." Mr. Hoover pointed out, however, that the convention passed no resolution separating the party from the world Communist movement (p. 9). Mr. Beichman set down certain "specific acts" which showed that the party had not severed its ties with Moscow:

1. "They didn't talk about freeing the Socialists behind the Iron Curtain."

2. "They didn't ask for the freedom of political prisoners."

3. "They didn't ask for an end to the one-party system."

4. "They didn't ask for a withdrawal of Soviet troops in Hungary."

5. "They haven't asked for freedom of the press or opinion."

6. "The case of Alter and Ehrlich, two Polish Jewish Socialists who were executed by Stalin \* \* \* the Communist Party here avoided taking issue with that."

7. "They didn't even dare raise that (the issue of Soviet anti-Semitism)" (p. 4617).

Instead of being in any true sense independent, as it represented itself in the convention, the Communist Party of the United States bears numerous evidences of its captivity. Moscow headquarters disclose intimate knowledge of what the non-Russian Communist parties are doing. None other than Mikhail Suslov, secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who, according to Mr. Hoover "closely supervises the Communist Party in the United States," broadcast last November that the "fraternal Communist Parties are experiencing a period of great creative activity." Such assertions are surely not made without an adequate basis in factual reporting by the parties in question.

Despite these facts, certain leading newspapers in the United States carried the following headlines on the convention: "Reds in United States Vote to Cast Off Moscow," "United States Reds Vote End Control by Soviet," and "United States Reds Quit Foster and Kremlin" (p. 4613).

We have already pointed out that the 16th convention of the American Communist Party was held to be merely a sequel to and a shadow of the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In other words the American Communist convention reflects world Communist policy. The witness, Frank Meyer, presented some observations on the XXth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party: "Far from being strategically a retreat" he felt that its outcome "is the most forward and aggressive strategic statement that has ever been made by the Communist international movement" (p. 4708).

Previously, he pointed out, Moscow had always complained about living "in a world of capitalist encirclement." But now, according to Mr. Meyer—

for the first time in all the years of the existence of the Communist movement the basic strategic point was reversed, and the constant talk was about 900 million people; the general tone was that of a period in which not socialism is encircled but capitalism is encircled, the free world is encircled (p. 4709).

According to this view, the Communists can now afford to be extremely flexible, suiting their tactics to the given situation. Thus, according to N. S. Khrushchev in his report to the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the following picture unfolds:

There is no doubt that in a number of capitalist countries the violent overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the sharp aggravation of class struggle connected with this are inevitable. But the forms of social revolution vary. It is not true that we regard violence and civil war as the only way to remake society. Leninism teaches us that the ruling classes will not surrender their power voluntarily. And the greater or lesser degree of intensity which the struggle may assume, the use or the nonuse of violence in the transition to socialism, depends on the resistance of the exploiters, on whether the exploiting class itself resorts to violence, rather than on the proletariat (p. 4712).

According to Mr. Meyer the absolutely guiding sentence in Khrushchev's speech is the following:

There is no doubt that in a number of capitalist countries the violent overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the sharp aggravation of class struggle connected with this are inevitable (p. 4714).

And since the United States of America is the strongest "capitalist" nation, Mr. Meyer believes there is no doubt it is the target of Communist violence (p. 4715).

From the public record of the proceedings of the American Communist convention, Mr. Meyer believes that the Communist Party, U. S. A., stood firmly on the following position with regard to the use of force and violence:

1. "Our goal is the dictatorship of the proletariat and the establishment of a Communist society."

2. "We will do this in any manner and by any means which is useful, efficient, and successful."

3. "That includes violence where necessary."

4. "Under the circumstances of the past period where the Communist camp has become stronger, where, rather than being an encircled island, we can almost begin to think in terms of encircling the free world, there will be many more places in which we won't have to carry through an armed civil war, but can simply penetrate parliaments, penetrate the government offices, stir up threats abroad and at home, and carry through a victory, as we did in Czechoslovakia" (p. 4714).

The close bond between the American Communists and the Soviet party was again shown by the fact that, long before the convention, the chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, William Z. Foster, was hailed by the Soviet press as a "noted theoretician and Marxist historian" (p. 8). Almost on the eve of the convention the Russian paper, "Sovetskaya Rossiya," of February 3, 1957, was quoted by the New York Times under the headline "Soviet Backs Foster's Faction, Attacks Rightwing United States Reds" (p. 12).

The name of Jacques Duclos, the French Communist leader who in 1945 forced the expulsion of Earl Browder from the CPUSA and brought about its complete reorganization, came up at the 16th convention. He sent two letters to the convention urging that the American comrades "will not depart from the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism."

The subcommittee has made public for the first time the full text of the letter from Duclos, who is secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party of France, and the subsequent message from the central committee of the French Communist Party. It was disclosed that, in accordance with international Communist practice, the French party had been invited to send a delegation to the American convention. Raymond Guyot, member of the political bureau and Maurice Kniegel-Valrimont, member of the central committee, were denied visas by the United States Government, however.

Duclos revealed that he had "attentively studied the stages in the discussion" of the American Communists, that he had examined—

with great attention the opinions expressed by different comrades and the official documents like the draft resolution for the convention, the November 6 [statement] of the [Communist Party of the United States concerning the events in Poland and Hungary and other documents.

He noted certain "dangerous departures from these principles" of Marxism-Leninism. He advised the American party that it could play its revolutionary role—

only if it is built and fights in the framework of the fundamental principles which have been tested in other countries, in the first place in the Soviet Union.

By thus seeking to guide the affairs of the American party, just as he did in 1945, Duclos gave evidence of actually acting in behalf of the international Communist apparatus—that he was indeed the "voice of Moscow."

Duclos' message was emphasized by a cablegram from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, urging their American adherents to maintain their ties with other Communist parties on the basis of "proletarian internationalism" (p. 9).

The groupings within the convention are worthy of note. William Z. Foster led the group which advocated continuing the Communist Party under its present name. He also supported the Soviet Government in its activities against Hungary. Eugene Dennis led a purported middle group which supported the position of Foster. The group led by John W. Gates advocated the establishment of a Communist political association (p. 4599).

But these purported factions seem to have been intended chiefly to provide an appearance of internal democracy. According to Mr. Rachlin, the factional differences just described are "tactical rather than philosophic" and designed "to get back into the good graces of the American people, and not symptomatic of a real basic difference of philosophy" (pp. 4484, 4485).

Considerable attention was given by the convention to increasing the party's influence among Negroes. In addition to Charlene Alexander, who got the highest vote for the national committee at this rigged convention, six other members of the new national committee are Negroes (p. 13).

On the basis of his vast experience, Mr. Meyer had some interesting observations on this subject. He said that the party is not at all interested in the "aims and desires of the Negro people." He added that their real design is to use these aspirations "as the most important and strongest cutting edge against the constitutional structure of the United States," notably including the rights of the individual States (p. 4723).

Despite its pose as a champion of the rights of minority groups, the convention encountered considerable difficulties with the charge of anti-Semitism in Russia made by Prof. Morris U. Schappes and his subcommittee. The charges included "the liquidation of the outstanding Yiddish writers and Jewish cultural life." The Schappes subcommittee timidly urged the national committee of the CPUSA

"to make this subject one for fraternal discussion with the Communist Party in the Soviet Union." The resolution was shelved by referring it to the incoming national committee (p. 10).

#### WHAT HAPPENED AFTER THE CONVENTION

On February 25, 1957, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee afforded Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the CPUSA, an opportunity to testify as to what happened at the 16th convention. Quoting from the *Daily Worker*, which declared: "Far from being a cellar conspiracy, our convention was held in the glare of white-hot publicity," Senator Roman L. Hruska, who presided, expressed the hope that Mr. Dennis would be willing to inform the subcommittee regarding matters pertaining to the party and its convention (p. 4646). Instead of complying with this request, Dennis invoked his privilege under the fifth amendment in refusing to answer many questions on the ground that to do so might tend to incriminate him, including the following on which the subcommittee, acting on information, sought answers:

1. "Did you know that Irving Potash<sup>1</sup> surreptitiously entered the United States in the closing days of 1956? \* \* \* Did you meet with Mr. Potash?"

2. "Do you know a man named John Williamson<sup>2</sup> who was previously one of the leaders of the American Communist Party? \* \* \* Would you tell us when you last had a communication from John Williamson? \* \* \* Did you receive any letter—a letter or any other communication from Mr. Williamson which gave you any advice as to how the Communist Party of the United States should be run?"

3. "Is it true that there were secret sessions preceding the convention of the Communist Party held in the second week of February?"

4. "When did you last hear from Mr. Duclos?"

During the first decade of its existence, the Communist International issued a long chain of directives, open letters and theses instructing the American Communist Party. In later years the guiding opinion of Moscow has not been so openly expressed, and a series of efforts were made to give an appearance of the severance of ties between the Soviet Union and the American party. Now again the Moscow newspaper, *Pravda*, dated February 15, 1957, page 3, in an article entitled "Under the Sign of Strengthening Unity," by F. Orekhov, gives open evidence of these ties.

The article reviews the history of the Communist Party of the United States for the past 38 years. It expresses its deepest sympathy for Communist leaders imprisoned for violating American laws. It quotes with approval the opinion of William Foster in his opposition to any revision of the line of Marxism-Leninism. It approves the convention's retention of the name "Communist Party, U. S. A." in place of a "political action association." It hails Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the CPUSA, for his repudiation of the views of

<sup>1</sup> Irving Potash, a former member of the national committee of the CPUSA, was convicted under the Smith Act and deported in 1955. He reappeared in this country illegally and is now held on \$35,000 bail. It is alleged that he brought directives to the convention from Moscow.

<sup>2</sup> John Williamson was convicted under the Smith Act and deported to Great Britain in 1955.

those who ventured to disregard "the historical attainments of the Soviet Union." Pravda expressed deep gratification over the "concrete and developed program of activity for the CPUSA in the forthcoming period." It was particularly pleased at the American party's opposition to "the provocative Eisenhower-Dulles doctrine concerning relations in the Middle East." It even went so far as to approve the removal of the party's headquarters to Chicago. This official Soviet Communist organ then hailed "the loyalty of the American Communists to the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

#### CONCLUSIONS

1. A primary purpose of the 16th convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., held February 9 to 12, 1957, was to bring its activities into line with the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held the year before.

2. In order to thwart future prosecution by the Department of Justice under the Subversive Activities Control Act, the convention was used to manufacture and disseminate "evidence" that the party was no longer subservient to the Soviet Union. But analysis of the facts shows that the Communist Party, U. S. A., remains as before a disciplined agent of Moscow.

3. In order to thwart future prosecution by the Department of Justice under the Smith Act, the convention was used to promote the myth that the party no longer advocates overthrow of governments by force and violence. But reliable evidence shows that the party remains loyal to the principles of Marx, Lenin, and Khrushchev which justify the use of force and violence for the overthrow of non-Communist governments.

4. Despite Communist efforts to mislead, reliable evidence establishes the fact that the CPUSA remains as always an integral part of the worldwide Communist conspiracy.

5. The convention sought to give the impression that the party tolerated freedom of opinion within its ranks, but the facts are that on all major issues the party remained as before, a monolithic, disciplined organization.

6. The convention sought to give the impression that it operated openly before the press, but the fact is that the press was not permitted to witness the proceedings and the major decisions were made at secret sessions.

7. Despite the great mass of available evidence to the contrary, important segments of the American press naively and uncritically accepted the party handouts at face value and reported: (a) That the party was no longer controlled by Moscow; (b) that the party barred spies and violence; (c) that it permitted dissent.



# APPENDICES

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## APPENDIX A

(Pravda, February 16, 1957, p. 3)

### UNDER THE SIGN OF STRENGTHENING UNITY

IN CONNECTION WITH RESULTS OF CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

New York, February 15 (by Pravda correspondent.)—On February 12, in New York, the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., brought its work to a close.

The current convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., founded 38 years ago, was convened in an especially difficult moment in the party's history. Only a quick glance at the past is necessary to observe what a thorny path was traversed by this party in the postwar years and to become convinced of its tremendous services to the American working class. In conditions of repression the CPUSA waged a heroic fight against the menace of atomic war, on behalf of talks between West and East, for civil rights and freedoms, for the raising of living standards and the organization of the working class, for the rights of trade unions and the increasing of employment, and against the debauched reaction. During this whole period of the cold war, the CPUSA, has been subjected to difficult trials and persecutions which even now have not let up. Leaders of the party were arrested, locked up in jail, deported. It is enough to say that of the 13 members and 9 alternates of the national committee, chosen at the previous party convention in December 1950, 6 persons are right now in prison, and others, among their number General Secretary Dennis, were released from prison hardly a year ago. There was a period when almost all leaders of the party were imprisoned. Many local party workers were subjected to court prosecution and imprisonment. Under these conditions, party membership diminished.

It should be noted also that in recent years the increase of production in certain branches of American industry, principally caused by the armament race, generated in certain American circles, including some of the Communists, an illusion about "perpetual prosperity" of the American economy.

All this, in conjunction with certain errors of the leadership, gradually revealed segments of the party membership as ideologically shaky, and even aroused a revisionist or liquidationist frame of mind.

The struggle between the revisionist elements and the staunch Marxist-Leninist forces in the CPUSA, perceptibly sharpened in the preconvention discussion period beginning in 1956. Certain prominent party leaders were unsuccessful at first in holding back the revisionist and rightist elements. The struggle was still more greatly intensified after the publication of the national committee's draft

resolution to the 16th party congress in which the basic tasks of the party were outlined. Rightist elements began to preach the necessity for liquidation of the party, and its replacement by a nonparty "political action association."

Concurrently with the liquidationist attempts against the party, rightist elements undertook attacks against Marxism-Leninism. American revisionists declared that before the principles of Marxism-Leninism can be accepted and creatively practiced, "interpretation" or "explanation" is needed, to explore their utility for a given nation.

Certain propositions reflecting the position of the rightist elements were contained in one form or another in the draft program resolution prepared by the national committee in the previous fall for ratification by the 16th national convention, particularly the proposition concerning the interpretation of Marxism-Leninism "in accordance with American conditions." William Foster, party chairman, objected to this and certain other propositions contained in the draft program resolution. He declared, in the magazine Political Affairs in October of the previous year that "in developing their political line, it appears, the party would have to sink into the morass of 'American exceptionalism,' which is based on the arbitrary premise that American capitalism allegedly is made of special cloth and is not subject to the universal laws of the rise and decline of capitalism on a worldwide scale."

The revisionist and liquidationist frame of mind of a certain portion of the party membership called out, on the eve of the convention, the malevolent joy of the bourgeois press. Newspapers prophesied that the convention would cause the party to disintegrate and would mean its end.

The expectations of the bourgeois press were not, however, justified. The party knew how to overcome a number of grave disagreements and preserve its organizational unity. The idea of an "association" which the revisionists wanted to substitute for the party was characterized by the overwhelming majority of the party as a miserable, opportunist substitute.

The negative attitude of the basic mass of the party membership to the idea of an "association" played a decisive role. The idea was put to a vote at the convention and a resolution was adopted against transforming the party into a "political or educational association," although the possibility of consideration of this idea in the future was preserved. An overwhelming majority of the delegates voted for this resolution which decided the question of the future existence of the party.

Thus the convention decisively confirmed the need to preserve the Communist Party, U. S. A., guided in its activities by the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The 16th convention of the CPUSA demonstrated the loyalty of the majority of American Communists to Marxism-Leninism. They rightly understood that the strength of Marxism-Leninism lies in the very fact that while bringing to light the laws of social development it takes into consideration the historic, economic, and other specific peculiarities of each separate country and helps to resolve properly the problems confronting the Communist Party.

The convention underscored the need for struggle on two fronts: Against left sectarian errors and against right opportunist tendencies.

Concentrating upon the criticism of sectarian errors of the past, the party at the same time pointed out the danger of right opportunist expressions that have occurred in recent months.

Further, the convention confirmed anew the loyalty of American Communists to the ideas of international labor solidarity. Devotion to the great principle of proletarian "internationalism" was underscored in the resolutions of the 16th convention of the CPUSA. In his report to the convention, Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the national committee of the CPUSA, declared concerning this question: "There is no contradiction whatever between the real national interests of our country and the general labor interests of the peoples of all countries. \* \* \* We condemn cynical attitudes and hostility toward socialist countries and their Marxist parties. We repudiate any point of view which pays attention only to crude violations of socialist principles which have taken place and disregards the historical attainments of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, and other socialist countries."

Great significance was placed by the conference on a concrete and developed program of activity for the CPUSA, in the forthcoming period.

In the field of foreign affairs, the party considers as its main tasks the struggle for peace, the lessening of international tension, the struggle against preparations for atomic warfare and against attempts to revive the cold war. The American Communists appealed in particular to the working class and to all the people of the United States to oppose the provocative Eisenhower-Dulles doctrine concerning relations in the Middle East.

In the field of domestic politics, the CPUSA is advancing the following important strategic task: "to curb monopolies, to reach a new democratic arrangement of political forces and set a course toward significant progress in the social field." It was noted in the convention that conditions are now arising which make possible the creation of an antimonopolist coalition headed by the workers, embracing broad strata of membership of trade unions, farmers, Negroes, small-business men and workers in science and culture.

A certain portion of the intelligentsia, seeing the bankruptcy of the capitalist system, is attempting to find a middle road between capitalism and socialism. That is a fruitless search. We know there is no third road. We know also, it is possible on the socialist road to find solutions to all problems which capitalism is unable to solve.

In its convention, the party outlined concrete measures directed at intensification of the activities of "leftist elements, including Communists and other socialist-minded groups" in the trade-union movement. Particular attention is devoted to the struggle for unified action of the workers.

A significant place was allotted in the resolutions of the convention to the task of the party in the field of the struggle for Negro rights. The convention underscored the need for democratization of the South and the strengthening of unity between the Negroes and the whites. Attention was turned especially to the strengthening of the union between Negro and white workers in their struggle against the attacks of the monopolies. The Communists appeal for all-out support of "the great and heroic struggle of the Negro people in the South, and everywhere in the country."

The convention adopted a resolution for the transfer of the central establishment of the party within the course of the next year from New York to Chicago—closer to the basic industrial and farming sections of the country; the convention also approved a new system of elections to membership in the national committee of the party, and elected a part of this committee's membership.

The composition of the national committee is enlarged now from 13 to 60 members, with 20 members chosen by the national convention, a balance of 40 members to be selected in the coming weeks in the State conventions. When the whole composition of the national committee is selected, it will decide the question of forming a perpetual leadership responsible for day-to-day leadership. Meanwhile this role is entrusted to the so-called "provisional administrative committee" formed of 11 persons elected from the 20 available members of the national committee. In the composition of the "provisional administrative committee," (playing the part of the presidium) the following were included: former chairman of the national committee of the party, William Foster; former general secretary of the party, Eugene Dennis; Benjamin Davis; Earl Durham; Fred Fine; James Jackson; John Gates; Charles Loman; Sidney Stein; Doxey Wilkerson; and George Charney.

The convention approved a new set of party regulations.

Thus the convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., in spite of all "predictions" and expectations of the reaction, manifested not a weakening but a strengthening of the party, and a tightening of its ranks.

The 16th convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., confirmed the loyalty of the American Communists to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and their readiness to intensify the struggle for the fundamental interests of the American workers, and for peace and democracy.

F. OREKHOV.

Pravda, February 16, 1957, p. 3, translated from Russian.

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#### APPENDIX B

(Following is the text of the letter sent to the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., by Jacques Duclos, secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party of France, under date of January 21, 1957:)

The central committee of the Communist Party of France received with great pleasure the invitation of the executive committee of the Communist Party of the United States to send a delegation to its 16th convention.

The political bureau of the central committee of the Communist Party of France warmly thanks the executive committee of the CPUSA for this. We take great pleasure in informing you that we have designated a delegation of two members to be present at the 16th convention. These comrades are Raymond Guyot, member of the political bureau and Maurice Kniegel-Valrimont, member of the central committee. We have requested visas, and we hope that the American authorities will place no obstacles preventing the arrival of our comrades in the United States.

While awaiting the decision of the State Department on this request for visas, we would like to express to your party as a whole and its leadership the interest which the holding of your 16th national convention has evoked in our party, by exchanging with you some opinions relating to the general political situation of the Communist movement. We have attentively studied the stages in the discussion opened in your party and which will constitute the essential work of your 16th convention. This concerns, in general, the determination, in 1957, of the role, the ideology and the organization of the party of the working class in your country.

We understand the difficulties and the special character with which a Communist Party can be faced in a country like the United States where the power of monopoly capitalism imposes special forms of ideological, political and social oppression and where the labor movement is often penetrated with non-Marxist ideology.

However, the history of the American labor movement is rich in magnificent struggles. It is precisely these special characteristics of the implacable iron heel and of the spirit of struggle which makes it more necessary for the party of the working class to remain firm on the principles of class struggle so that the interests of the workers are always correctly defended and the social future of the country assured. Only the Communist Party can guarantee that.

But, also, the Communist Party can play its role of revolutionary party of the working class acting in the interest of all the people and the nation only if it is built and fights in the framework of the fundamental principles which have been tested in other countries, in the first place in the Soviet Union, thanks to the victory of October 1917; only if it determines its internal life and its political struggle in the framework of the principles of Marxism-Leninism; only if it fights for its leading role in the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

In examining with great attention the opinions expressed by different comrades in your discussion, and the official documents like the draft resolution for the convention, the November 6 statement of the Communist Party of the United States concerning the events in Poland and Hungary and other documents, we believe that we discern dangerous departures from these principles; we have at the same time, however, been happy to see that a more profound study of the real facts has already permitted you to make certain precisions and happy corrections for our common cause and the future of the Communist Party of the United States.

The class struggle was and remains the motor of history and it is only a Marxist-Leninist Party which can extract its laws and make the working class victorious in its struggle against capitalism; the dictatorship of the proletariat is the indispensable, inevitable arm for the exercise of the power by the working class allied with the farmers, whatever are the particular forms of transition from capitalism to socialism; all that which can weaken or deny the class struggle and the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat is contrary to the interests of the social revolution, is contrary to Marxism-Leninism.

Leninism, the development and victorious application of Marxism, has in our opinion as French Communists, prodigiously achieved the building of the Communist Party and of socialism in the U. S. S. R., in China and in other countries.

The universal truth of Marxism-Leninism could not be denied by any true Communist. It is not true that the Leninist principles of the building of the party and socialism would only be valid in the Soviet Union, that the socialist system would not have permanent worth, taking into account national characteristics which, in particular, Lenin advised should be carefully taken into account. To deviate from these basic conceptions is to slide into the morass of social-democratic opportunism; still more, it is to fall into liquidationist revisionism, that is to say, to turn one's back on the revolution, on communism, the class struggle, it is to play the game of project X, of the reactionary plots organized on the basis of mutual security laws, as in Hungary.

We who had to face the highly organized offensive of the criminals and assassins of the counterrevolutionary reaction of last November 7 and who smashed it, together with the working class of France November 8 and 13, we understand the difficulty which you had to face in relation to the events in Poland and Hungary. But it is now well known to American workers that the real organizers of these events of the imperialist plan of counterrevolution (who exploited the errors of men and not of the system) are the supporters of the "freedom crusade," the Harlow Curtices, Cecil Morgans, Willy Prices, Frank Stantons, Howard Shephards, Joseph Grews, Henry Lucas and others, Foster or Allen Dulles, Maj. E. Jackson, General Donovan, who commanded the ex-generals of Horthy, the Ferenc Nagys, and Mindzentys.

If irresponsible Petofi circles were able, precisely by sliding into liquidationist revisionism, to play the game of these counterrevolutionary bands, by deceiving the workers, it is no less true that the whole affair was the realization of a plan of imperialism, in order to split apart and destroy the camp of socialism and the Communist movement. The worst would be that some Communists would be taken in, having denied already in principle the role of imperialism. The worst yet would be that "revisionism" pretends to question everything and, instead of fighting with ever greater intensity and firmness against capitalism, imperialism, and reaction, leads the revolutionary movement to "democratic" reformism, to the deception of "democratic liberties," to have confidence in the bourgeoisie to achieve a "democratic socialism."

The French Communists consider that they must not modify their program, but make more precise its class character and make their tactic of struggle more flexible. They consider that the class struggle is sharpening on the international scale in proportion as the camp of socialism is strengthened, the camp which has opposed to it a more and more split coalition composed of capitalist governments led by that of Washington—or rather by Wall Street. That is why they attach a great importance to the life and struggles of the Communist Party of the United States. That is why the refinement, the deepening, the clarification of the spirit of proletarian internationalism have such a considerable importance for your Communist Party and for the whole Communist world movement, in order to check the splitters of the camp of socialism, the saboteur elements of the workers and socialist movements, the agents of the imperialist fomentors of war.

The strengthening of international solidarity of the proletariat—thus of the national parties of the working class is considered by us as one of the categorical imperatives of the present period of the international class struggle, which implies solidarity with the foreign

policy of the Soviet Union corresponding to the essential interests of the international proletariat, of peace and socialism, to the interests of the independence movements of the oppressed and dependent countries in the world.

That is why any penetration of the echoes of the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaign in our ranks must be answered by an unrelenting resistance and pitiless rebuff.

We are happy, dear comrades, to be able freely and fraternally to exchange our opinions with you for the success of our common cause. We wish your convention fruitful and valuable work for the Communist movement in the United States.

With the hope that our delegation can attend your 16th convention, we send you our fraternal greetings.

JACQUES DUCLOS,  
*Member of the Political Bureau,  
Secretary of the Central Committee*

(For the central committee of the Communist Party of France.)

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(Following is the text of the message sent to the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., by the central committee of the French Communist Party:)

Message from the central committee of the French Communist Party to the 16th congress of the Communist Party of the United States.

Dear COMRADES: The central committee of the French Communist Party warmly greets the 16th congress of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., a congress whose work unfolds a troubled and dangerous period. It is evident that following the setback of the aggression against Egypt by the Franco-British imperialists and their accomplices of the Israeli Government, American imperialism is seeking with the Eisenhower doctrine to plunge the world again into the cold war in order to realize its expansionist aims and plans for world domination. The central committee of the French Communist Party regrets very much that its delegation cannot attend your congress because of the denial of visas by the rulers of the United States. This does not prevent these rulers from speaking inconsistently of liberty. The facts expose once again the hypocrisy of the imperialists of the United States who cynically violate liberty, feed racism, attack the sovereignty of nations, and set up obstacles to the organization of peace at the same time as it slanders countries of the camp of socialism who make peaceful coexistence the fundamental rule of their foreign policies.

Despite the absence of representatives of the Communist workers of France from your congress the militants of our party will follow the work of your congress with an interest all the greater because they attach considerable importance to the future of the Communist movement in the United States.

We know that your party is struggling under difficult conditions and must confront attacks of a ferocious class enemy which combines systematic anti-Communist depressions with very strong ideological pressure upon the workers in order to prevent the working class from determining and following an adequate policy. Nevertheless, the history of the American labor movement is rich in magnificent strug-

gles. It is precisely these special features of the implacable iron heel and of the strength and struggles of the workers which obliged the party of the working class to stand firmly on the principles of the class struggles, in order that the interests of the workers will always be properly defended, in order that the social future of the country will be assured. Only the Communist Party can guarantee that.

The experience of the international workers movement shows that one cannot stand up victoriously against the assaults of the enemy except by remaining faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Only in this way can a working class party develop soundly and surely the struggles of the popular masses against imperialism, against war, and for socialism. We have the firm hope that the Communists of the United States will know how to avoid the pitfalls that they may encounter on the road of revolutionary struggles and will not depart from the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism which have been tested in other countries, especially in the Soviet Union, and China. After the events which international capitalism provoked during these last months and which it seeks to exploit precisely to divide the world movement of communism, the imperative thing for every Communist Party is the clarification and deepening of the principles of proletarian internationalism in the course of checking those who would deprive the workers and socialist movement reinforcing the unity of the rank of the party, enriching the methods of the class struggle, strengthening the international solidarity of the proletariat around the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union whose 20th congress has opened for the entire workers movement the immense probabilities of development. It is to this that our French Communist Party is firmly attached.

We who had to confront the offensive of the incendiary criminals and the Fascist and counterrevolutionary reactions last November 7 and who shattered it together with the French working class from the 8th to the 13th of November, we understand the difficulties which you have had to face in connection with the events in Hungary, but it is now much easier to help the workers grasp who are the true organizers of these events, in particular the counterrevolution in Hungary. We are convinced that in their 16th convention the congress of the United States will gain inspiration from the experiences of the world Communist movement, will determine their national policy while taking into account the documents of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the Chinese Communist Party, and the Socialist Workers Party of Hungary as well as the communiques published following the recent conferences among various fraternal parties. All these documents reconfirm the unassailable principles of Marxism-Leninism and in particular the need for class vigilance. The French Communist Party sends its fraternal wishes to the 16th congress of the Communist Party of the United States for success in its work, for the well-being of the American working class and of the exploited Negro people, for international solidarity, for peace and socialism. Long live the Communist Party of the United States, vanguard of the working class in the struggle for the true democracy of the people. Long live proletarian internationalism. Long live communism.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY.

